1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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abanyago have no more general authority than the doctors who divine or treat the sick. Their parallels among men are the priests (also called *abanyago*) who perform the rain ritual and the sacrifices to dead chiefs.

The one position which endows a woman with legal authority is that of father's sister. A senior sister has a joint responsibility, along with the headman of the village, for the distribution of her dead brother's property, and her brother's children may appeal to her to arbitrate if they have a dispute with their father while he is yet alive: this is particularly important in the families of chiefs, since a chief's son cannot bring his father before commoners for arbitration. The authority of a father's sister is, however, exercised only within the lineage and does not extend even to wives of lineage members. Co-wives may take a dispute for arbitration to their husband, but if, as often happens, he is thought to be prejudiced, they go to a male neighbour, or to the headman of the village, in the same way as when the dispute is with an unrelated person (cf. p. 140).

Only in the group of unmarried girls in a village does there appear to be the germ of control by seniors of the same sex. We traced one case in which a quarrel between two girls nearing the age of puberty was settled by the slightly older girls of the same village, who punished one who had beaten her fellow without justification, and then lied to them when they inquired into the case, by scratching her with their nails. As they reach puberty the girls, who have grown up together in one village and formed a closely knit group, become scattered among the different age-villages of their husbands and there leadership among women is not developed (*vide infra*, pp. 171–2). This does not mean, however, that women are excluded from arbitration; they can, and frequently do, bring cases on their own account, not necessarily acting through husband or father. Unlike the pagans, Christian women who have quarrelled do sometimes ask a leading woman of their congregation to arbitrate. At Rungwe the women leaders were the sister of the chief and the wife of a teacher, both personalities; and it was to them that their fellows went to relate their troubles and ask for an opinion. We traced two such cases. Very often, however, Christian women go to a man, the Christian leader of the village, as their husbands do.

The Administration has not attempted to suppress arbitration

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa
Selya, Mulungoude

764 Then they explained to me that formerly it was forbidden to
177 scrape bananas at a death, you eat them with the ash on, for if you scrape you will scrape your body also, that is, you will scratch and scratch. But now that custom is finished. Three men were scraping away.

784 Mwaikambo said: 'In all rituals it is forbidden to scrape bananas —in the puberty and twin rituals also.'

184 KASITILE: It is forbidden to scrape bananas only at a death ritual,
784 not at other rituals. If you scrape bananas you scrape your own body. It is the corpse. We have died, we are the corpse. . . .

●604 The mother's brother (*senzipuwa*) hands bananas and meat over his
781 shoulder to the children who are treated, then he goes off home and
764 they go home without looking back at one another. If they do look back at one another the child will grow feeble and go mad. If the mother's brother does not come to cut the banana grove and do this, if the child sees others eating that banana it becomes feeble and goes mad. The banana and the meat are the filth which madmen take hold of, they are filth. Yes, it is like the banana which they eat at the pumpkin-seeds ritual.

QUESTION: Why the mother's brother?

KASITILE: Who should give it to them? Their kinsman (*senkamu*) should give it to them, he who looks after everything for them.

ii. *Mwandisi's interpretation.*[1]

764 QUESTION: What do you do in the death ritual, what does it mean?

MWANDISI: When a child has died I do not approach the women, my wives, until we have finished the ritual. On the night of the day we drink the beer then we come together. It is a ritual! Yes, the coming
[833] together of man and woman is a ritual (*ku kupaga*). If we come together before the beer then we overstep our child, Lubabelo, he will be impotent and not beget children. No, his children are not relatives (*ku kanda*) they are my comrades (*kubisanga*) but *if* Lubabelo forestalls (*akukinda*) the ritual with his wife then he oversteps (*akukinda*) his children. And when we have finished the ritual Lubabelo begins[2] and goes first to his wife. We follow him at our home. If we begin we would overstep him, it is taboo (*sunika*). At the ritual of pumpkin-seeds, we drive away the shade, we say: 'Do not rise from the dead and come to us, go to the land of the shades, that we may bear and beget another child, you prevent us doing so!'

[1] His son Lubabelo, who was with us during the earlier part of the conversation, left so that we could speak freely. There was no difficulty about Mwandisi's wife being present.

[2] Mwandisi was referring to a ritual performed on the death of his son Lubabelo's child.

4: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nga.Kyu§A

602 important relationships of kinship and affinity. Marriage cattle are not kept by the bride's father, but are distributed by him among her brothers for their marriages, and among his own brothers and half-brothers, who in turn give him cattle when their own daughters marry.

585 Half-brothers do not generally exchange cattle, but unless they do so there are no strong bonds of kinship between them. A polygynist usually creates the relationship of 'milking each other's cows', between his senior son and the eldest of each group of full-brothers by his other wives. He gives some of the marriage cows received for a daughter to one of her half-brothers, the latter being placed under an obligation to return the cows to the girl's eldest full brother some day from the marriage cattle of a sister or daughter of his own. The exchange once begun usually continues as sisters and daughters marry, and only lapses in the third generation, unless the principals quarrel and take legal action for 'separation'. Then a balance is drawn up of the cows exchanged from the beginning of the relationship, and the kinship is broken. The two thus 'separated' have no mutual obligations and do not attend each other's funerals.

602 428 Half-brothers may be linked by blood if their mothers are close kin; they may also be linked by cattle exchanges. The laws of inheritance make the full brothers of a man his first heirs, then his half-brothers linked by blood, then those linked by cattle have precedence over other half-brothers.[1]

● 604 The bond between a man and his mother's brother is expressed in terms of the passage of cattle. As the mother's brother married with the mother's cattle, her eldest son has the right to make free with his property in his lifetime, the right to receive one cow to set up a herd of his own, and a residuary right of inheritance; if the mother's brother dies without heir, her son can claim the particular wife obtained with and the particular progeny of the cattle given for his own mother.

606 There is a strict custom of father and daughter-in-law avoidance. A woman may never speak to, approach, or look at her husband's father, on pain of death through the witchcraft of indignant neighbours. The prohibition is extended from her own father-in-law to all his classificatory brothers, and in the basis of the age-village system.[2] A man must also avoid his mother-in-law, but this prohibition is relaxed after the birth of a child.[3] The affinal relationship is also expressed by the obligation of a man to bring a cow to the funeral of his wife's father or brother, and to give one at the death of his own son-in-law. The former may count as part of his marriage payments in case of a claim for refund.[4]

601 The main kinship terms are as follows:

Ndamu — brother-in-law or sister-in-law; used by a man for all husbands of his 'sisters', all 'brothers' of his wives, and for the son of his wife's brother, since he has a right to marry that man's sister; by a woman for all wives of her 'brothers' and all 'sisters' of her husband.

Nkagho — parent-in-law or child-in-law; used for the husband of a daughter, or for the parent of a wife or husband (a daughter-in-law is called by the special name of *Nkamwamu*). The wife of the wife's brother is called *Nkagho*, as also is the mother of a potential wife, and of a brother-in-law.

[1] Wilson, G. 1936, p. 182; G. 1939, p. 9.
[2] Ibid., L. 1936, pp. 182–6; Mitchemore, 1903, pp. 43 and 108.
[3] Rattenbury, J. 1913, p. 270.
[4] Wilson, G. 1939.

7: Sanderson U-5 (ca. 1920) 1923 FN17 Ngonde FN17

[582] 601

his wife is called *ukasi*, like the wife of a "brother," not *ulupho*. This appears to be the result of the law that a man may have to marry his "grandmothers." (See para. 5.)

601 Similarly a woman calls her "grandson" *ukwao*, and his wife *ukasi-mwinanga*.

No distinction is made between the offspring of a "son" and that of a "daughter," either by a man or a woman.

"Grand-daughters" by marriage are not called *ukasi* by a man, nor are "grandsons" by marriage called *ukwao* by a woman: the term *mwinshalo-mwinanga* is used in either case. It is of interest to note, however, that the wives and husbands of these relations are called *ukasi* and *ukwao* respectively, which is evidently a relic of the period when the whole tribe was divided into two classes, marriageable and unmarriageable: since a "grandchild" by marriage belonged to the latter class, his or her spouse must be included in the former.

[614]

(3) All "grandmothers" are termed *ukasi*, except perhaps the sisters of the paternal grandfather: some say that these should be classed as "sisters," or the sister of one's *mwinanga* (grandfather), because *ukasi* would not be polite to the *mwinga* of one's father. Others deny this and include all grandmothers as *ukasi*, and it is doubtful whether the objection is not modern. The same applies to the "grandmothers" of a wife.

587 A man often has to marry his "grandmothers" on the death of his "grandfather," though if the latter were a chief or a rich man the heir would probably marry them as part of the property. The rule appears to be that it is the duty of any man to marry his "grandmothers" if they are destitute.

[582] 601

A woman calls all her "grandfathers" *ukwao*, though actual marriage is not permitted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to analogy with the relationship of a man to his "grandmother," or is the corollary of that to his "grand-daughter." Since marriage with a "grand-daughter" is not uncommon in other tribes, it may be that it was originally the reason for a woman calling her grandfather *ukwao* among the Wangonde, but that the persistence of the terminology after such a marriage came to be regarded as inveterate is partly due to analogy.

As a result of the similarity of relationship between grandparents and grandchildren the same term *mwinshalo* is used for both. There was formerly a special term for grandparents (*ndeqa*), but it is now obsolete.

601 604

(4) The relationship between mother's "brother" and "sister's" son is peculiar, in that the term is used reciprocally (*mwipwao*). A man calls the wife of his

7: Sanderson U-5 (ca. 1920) 1923 FN17 Ngonde FN17

maternal uncle *ukasi*, and she calls him *ukamu*. As a sister's son comes very low down in the table of succession, this cannot be due to their prospective relationship should the maternal uncle die, and it may be that the relationship of husband's sister's son is (or was) regarded as analogous to that of wife's brother's daughter. On the other hand, if the father of X exercises his right to marry his wife's brother's daughter, this girl, from being the "sister" of X, becomes his "mother," and her mother (the wife of X's maternal uncle) becomes his "grandmother" and therefore his *ukasi*. 601 604

(7) Cross-cousins are classed as "brothers" and "sisters," and all first cousins are, therefore, unmarriageable. 606 601

(8) It is of interest to note that a kind of marriage by capture is still in vogue among the Wangonde. It may be performed either with or without the consent of the woman, but, except in the case of a woman to whom the man has a right by relationship, her father's sanction is necessary, and at least part of the dowry must be paid beforehand: usually, the woman is aware that the marriage has been proposed. 583

The bridegroom, assisted by some friends, either lies in wait for the woman, on the way to the water-supply for instance, or decoys her out of the village by means of a spurious message, and carries her off to his home. Her relatives would be bound in honour to rescue her if the bridegroom were so maladroit as to make it impossible for them to affect ignorance of the abduction. It is said that the marriage is sometimes consummated by force with the assistance of the companions of the bridegroom: in any case, a small present to the girl personally is necessary before consummation.

4. *Succession.*—The order of succession is liable to modification if the legal heir is considered unsuitable for any reason. The relationships are put in the following order of precedence:— 623

(1) Younger brother by same father and mother.
(2) Younger brother by same father and different mother.
(3) *Any* younger "brother."

Note.—It would be considered *infra dig.* for an elder "brother" to take the name of his junior, so that, although he has a prior right to the property, he would appoint a younger "brother" to the name. In such a case he may choose which of the "wives" of the deceased he likes, in addition to the estate.

(4) Eldest surviving son (own begetting).
(5) Eldest son of elder brother (by the same father).
(6) Eldest son of younger brother (by the same father).

8: Wilson E-5 (1934-1936)1936 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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582 they sometimes do so before the relationship is discovered, and then simply drink a protective medicine but do not break the marriage. The old men speak of a now abandoned custom of preferential cross-cousin marriage.

604 The bond between a man and his mother's brother (*mwaipwa*) is mainly constituted by the passage of cattle. "My real mother's brother," they say "is the one who took the bulk of the marriage-cattle which my father gave for my mother", and it is between this particular brother and a woman's eldest son that the bond is strongest. Because this brother of his mother has taken "our cattle" and married with them the young man has a certain right of making free with his property during his life, the right to receive from him one cow to set up a herd of his own with, and a residuary right of inheritance if this uncle dies childless and leaves no brothers. If his mother's brother does die without other heirs, it is only the particular wife obtained with and the particular progeny of his father's marriage-cattle that the young man can claim.

602. 764 Ceremonies, and particularly funerals, are the occasions on which the effective relatives of any one family meet all together, both kinsmen and affines. I have even heard kinship defined by attendance at funerals. One man argued that he was not related to another because, though they were admittedly genealogically related they did not attend the funerals in each other's families and were not therefore really kinsmen at all.

602 572 Known blood-kinship is a common occasion of friendship, but it does not necessarily produce it, while the absence of friendship can render many of the normal kinship bonds quite inoperative. We have seen already that quarrels may destroy the relationship between half-brothers and lead to a judicial separation. On the other hand, I have observed two men meet for the first time, discover a common great-grandfather and at once become friends. A few months later the sister of one of them died and the other went to the funeral and behaved there like a close kinsman.

Proximity is another factor of great importance in the relations of kinship, for while nearness of dwelling does not always make for friendship, yet a considerable distance tends to lessen it and to make attendance at funerals impossible.

606 One of the most stringent taboos in Nyakyusa life is that which separates father and daughter-in-law. A woman may never speak to, approach, or look at her husband's father. If she does it is believed that she will die, through the witchcraft of indignant neighbours, a painful and lingering death. And the taboo is extended from her own father-in-